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Special Advertisements.

The present session of the Federal Coun-

"The fact is, as in one respect particularly gratifying to the people of New South Wales, because all the members with one consent are admitting that some of the objections of this colony were valid. They have all arrived at the conclusion that the Council is too small to be effective, and this discovery is due to the adhesion of South Australia, which has joined for a limited time only, and contingently on some reforms of its own dictating. These reforms are to be taken into consideration; and indeed there is no other business of sufficient importance to justify the Council having met at all. The real matter for debate is how far the original blunder can be undone.

And on this point it is noteworthy that all that it is proposed to do is to increase somewhat the members of the Council, and to increase its powers. For this latter purpose another application will have to be made to the Imperial Parliament. What strikes us as curious is that so many members of the Council seem to think that if this were done all the objections of New South Wales would be removed. One is almost inclined to ask what is the use of speaking and writing, if reiterated statements in the plainest language fail to communicate any ideas. It is almost impossible to say any article in the Melbourne press on the attitude of New South Wales towards the Federal Council without being struck with wonder that the writer should never have attempted to find out what the New

South Wales feeling is. What is still more curious is that this ignorance should exist although within the last few weeks Sir HENRY PARKES has visited Melbourne, and in the plainest possible language stated his own objections. He said that he was in favour of federal union when we could get it on the model of Canada or the United States, that is, whenever we could get a Federal Congress which should be really superior to any local Parliament, but that he was, and would continue to be, utterly opposed to any central council, legislative or executive, which was smaller than the provincial Parliaments which it affected to guide. It is difficult to put an opinion in plainer language, and yet we must leave the members of the Council thinking, or affecting to think, that if their numbers were somewhat increased, and their powers somewhat enlarged, New South Wales would come in, and call it a real federation.

There is nothing except provincial differences preventing a real federation from being accomplished. We have as large a population as the American colonies had at the close of the war of independence. We are more scattered than they were, and spread over a larger territory, but then we have telegraphs, railways, and steamboats, which they had not, and

which are great unifiers, while our wealth and financial credit are greatly superior to what theirs were. There is nothing in the smallness of our population or its dispersion that stands in the way. What stands in the way is the anti-federal spirit which has given rise to local anti-federal legislation, towards which Mr. DEAKIN, Sir SAMUEL GRIFFITH, and Mr. PLATFORD have all liberally contributed. While the different Governments have all been legislating locally against New South Wales, and putting on duties to keep out her produce, they have been doing their best to keep the colonies asunder, and to create vested interests which will be a hindrance to unity; and now New South Wales we have a Government in power which is appealing to the people to make this colony join, not in the concert of union, but in the concert of disunion. Sir SAMUEL GRIFFITH says that Mr. DINNIS will prove a valuable ally; but Mr. DINNIS has just been appealing to all the farmers of New South Wales, both on the coast and on the border, to back him up in a policy of retaliatory protection, and to set up duties in this colony in the spirit of the Victorian stock tax. But Sir SAMUEL GRIFFITH seems to think that we can have a real federation "without touching the tariff question." This is a

idle dream. No federation could possibly be worthy of the name unless it broke down every internal barrier, and established complete intercolonial free trade; and that can only be done by means of a common tariff. Those members of the Federal Council who think that they can push forward federation, and yet encourage the jealousies of local protection, are the victims of a delusion.

Meanwhile the Council is doing nothing substantial but merely expanding itself on its present lines. The true way to a federation is to begin *de novo* in the constitutional way—to begin with the Provinces, to have a convention authorised by those Parliaments, and to frame a central Parliament which shall be greater than any of them. The present Federal Council began without any Parliamentary authority at all, it was the handiwork of a few Premiers who acted on their own responsibility, and the local Legislatures were simply permitted to give or withhold their consent. This fundamental constitutional vice has adhered to the scheme all through, and it is not to be got rid of simply by increasing the numbers of the present Council. That is not the way the United States federation was formed. That is not the way the Dominion Federation was formed. Nor will any federation be successful in Australia that does not

begin with the people, and work upwards to their existing Parliaments. The course is clear if the supporters of federation are prepared to follow, but to do so means a confession of error and a fresh beginning. It is not possible for the present Federal Council by any process of natural evolution to develop itself into a real Federal Government.

In accordance with the unanimous decision of the Cabinet arrived at on Wednesday, the officials of the Civil Service will receive their salaries to-day. The whole of the men in the Government

THE ELECTORS OF NEWTOWN

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